

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 8884

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: CSCE PL
SUBJ: US APPROACH TO CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS

REF: A) STATE 286655, B) BUCHAREST 7166, C) WARSAW 8652 NOTAL,
D) BUDAPEST 3616, D) WARSAW 5694, F) WARSAW 8843

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE GOP TAKES THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT FAIRLY
SERIOUSLY AND CAN BE JUDGED TO BE IN "SUBSTANTIAL COMPLIANCE"
WITH MANY OF ITS PROVISIONS, AT LEAST SO FAR AS THE US IS CON-
CERNED. INFORMATION, CULTURE, AND BUSINESS FLOW RELATIVELY WELL
COMPARED TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THE MAJOR POLISH DEFICIENCY IS IN
THE AREA OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION. SINCE
HELSINKI, WE HAVE NOTED A SIGNIFICANT DROP IN PERMANENT DEPAR-
TURES FOR THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE DOCUMENTED THIS IN NUMEROUS
MESSAGES TO THE DEPARTMENT, AS WELL AS IN OUR MANY REPRESENTATIONS
TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TO POLISH POLITICAL LEADERS.

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FAMILY REUNIFICATION HAS BECOME A PROBLEM IN US-POLISH BILATERAL

TIES AT A TIME WHEN RELATIONS OTHERWISE CONTINUE TO IMPROVE ACROSS A BROAD FRONT. AS WE MOVE TOWARD BELGRADE, WE WILL HAVE TO CONVINCE WARSAW THAT ITS INTRANSIGENCE ON THIS ISSUE CASTS A SERIOUS SHADOW OVER BOTH THE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE AND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. FOR OUR PART, THERE ARE ALSO AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT. EARLY BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON ARE IN ORDER. END SUMMARY.

2. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAVE SPECIFIC INTERESTS IN MIND AS THEY LOOK TO BELGRADE. THEY CONTINUE TO STRESS THE "INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS" AND TO AGREE THAT THE CSCE SIGNATORIES HAVE RECOGNIZED THEIR PRESENT BORDERS AS PERMANENT. THEY ARE SEEKING THE BEST POSSIBLE CONDITIONS FOR THEIR GROWING TRADE WITH THE WEST, AND THIS MEANS DOING AWAY WITH DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. THEY ARE ALSO INTENT ON SPREADING KNOWLEDGE ABROAD ABOUT POLAND. WHAT THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN IS SEEING ANY PART OF THEIR POPULATION LEAVE POLAND PERMANENTLY, ALTHOUGH TOURIST TRAVEL ABROAD IS ACCEPTABLE AND EXTENSIVE.

3. IN AN ARTICLE IN THE OCTOBER, 1976, ISSUE OF THE ILLUSTRATED ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MONTHLY, POLAND, TADEUSZ BIEGANSKI, A COUNSELOR IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OUTLINED THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH POLAND IS FOLLOWING IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS: 1) THE RESOLUTIONS "...SHOULD BE REALIZED IN THEIR ENTIRETY AND NOT SELECTIVELY TO BRING IMMEDIATE AND EXCLUSIVELY ONE-SIDED BENEFITS;" 2) "...THE RESOLUTIONS ARE MUTUALLY BINDING AND AS SUCH MUST BE RESPECTED AND CARRIED OUT BY ALL PARTNERS ALIKE AND IN ALL AREAS OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS;" AND, 3) "THE RESOLUTIONS ARE AT THE SAME TIME A LONG-RANGE PLAN, THE DYNAMIC AND STEADY REALIZATION OF WHICH BY THE PARTNER-STATES WILL REQUIRE MANY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THEM; IN ORDER TO REACH THESE AGREEMENTS, UNVARYING AND CONSTANT GOOD WILL AND READINESS WILL BE REQUIRED ON THE PART OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES. FOR ITS PART, POLAND HAS ALWAYS DISPLAYED AND WILL CONTINUE TO DISPLAY THE GREATEST GOOD WILL AND READINESS AND EXPECTS IN EXCHANGE THE SAME DISPLAY OF GOOD WILL AND READINESS FROM ALL THE PARTNER-STATES." THIS STATEMENT, NOT MUCH AT VARIANCE WITH WHAT HAS COME OUT OF OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS, CAN BE TAKEN AS THE GOP'S LIKELY POLICY LINE AT BELGRADE.

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4. THE REGIME IS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM OF POLISH PERFORMANCE IN THE HUMAN-RIGHTS FIELD. TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THEIR MIXED RECORD, THE POLES ARE COUNTERING WESTERN CHARGES BY PLAYING A NUMBERS GAME WITH BASKET III IN GENERAL. IN A DECEMBER 6 TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE ENTITLED "BETWEEN HELSINKI AND BELGRADE -- WHO IS MUDDYING THE THIRD BASKET?" RYSZARD DRECKI PRESENTS A SERIES OF DISPROPORTIONATE FIGURES SUPPORTING HIS CONTENTION THAT CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST, INCLUDING MOVIES,

STAGE PLAYS, AND BELLES LETTRES, HAVE "ALWAYS BEEN TO OUR DISADVANTAGE." DRECKI LATER NOTES THAT THESE "...DISPROPORTIONS LEAD TO THE IRREFUTABLE FACT THAT, IF THERE ARE FAILURES AND DELAYS IN THE AREAS EMBRACED BY THE 'THIRD BASKET,' THEY WERE NOT CAUSED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE EXTENT OF THESE DISPROPORTIONS AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES ACCOMPANYING THEM ALSO REVEAL THAT THEY ARE IN MANY INSTANCES THE RESULT OF WELL-KNOWN OBSTACLES TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE INTELLECTUAL VALUES OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD TO WESTERN SOCIETIES."

5. IN ADDITION, THE POLES HAVE LATCHED ONTO TWO VERY REAL PROBLEMS -- AREAS IN WHICH THE US FINDS ITSELF AT A DISADVANTAGE BECAUSE OF LEGAL REQUIREMENTS: DISCRIMINATORY US VISA POLICIES ARISING FROM THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1952, AND THE ECONOMIC PROTECTIONISM INHERENT IN THE TRADE ACT OF 1974.

6. DRECKI SAYS THAT, "EVEN AS REGARDS THE BELOVED CHILD OF WESTERN PROPAGANDA -- PERSONAL TRAVEL -- POLEMICAL SALLIES IN OUR DIRECTION BRING TO MIND THE PROVERBIAL SEARCH FOR THE MOTE IN ONE'S BROTHER'S EYE WITHOUT NOTICING THE BEAM IN ONE'S OWN. THE READINESS OF POLAND TO EXPAND THE PRACTICE OF VISA FACILITATION IN RELATIONS WITH OUR WESTERN PARTNERS IS WELL KNOWN. WE DO NOT ALWAYS SEE UNDERSTANDING EXPRESSED BY THE LATTER, HOWEVER, AND POLISH CITIZENS ARE SUBJECTED TO MORE THAN ONE DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICE." THIS IS A REFERENCE TO US VISA POLICIES REGARDING COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS AND TRADE-UNION OFFICIALS, BOTH MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THE GOP. THE POLES CLEARLY SEE THEMSELVES IN THE RIGHT ON THIS POINT AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO PUSH IT IN ANY CSCE FORUM. WE SHOULD CAREFULLY EXAMINE OUR OWN POLICIES AND PROCEDURES ON VISA ISSUANCES AND REASSESS OUR NEED TO EXCLUDE CERTAIN VISITORS WHOSE POLITICAL BELIEFS WE DISLIKE. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD BE ASKED TO SIMPLIFY WAIVER PROCEDURES. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY HAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE VALIDITY

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OF BUSINESS VISAS BE EXTENDED (REF E). THESE ACTIONS WOULD COST US LITTLE AND DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO MORE RELAXED PROCEDURES.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 8884

7. REF C SPELLED OUT POLISH CONCERNS OVER GROWING PROTECTIONISM IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. POLAND'S CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MAKE THIS CONCERN EVEN MORE ACUTE. THE POLES HAVE FOCUSSED ON THE 1974 TRADE ACT AND ITS SPECIAL TREATMENT OF EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH HAS RAISED WHAT THE EMBASSY CONSIDERS TO BE QUITE JUSTIFIABLE FEARS THAT THE US WILL BE ALL BUT CLOSED TO POLISH EXPORTS DESPITE POLAND'S MFN STATUS. UNLESS THE POLES CAN BE ASSURED OF GREATER ACCESS TO WESTERN MARKETS, AND TO THE US MARKET IN PARTICULAR, THEY MAY FEEL COMPELLED TO CLOSE THEIR TRADE WINDOW TO THE WEST. SUCH A DECISION WOULD ENDANGER MUCH OF THE FAVORABLE IMPACT ON THE POLISH SYSTEM WHICH HAS RESULTED FROM THE RECENT RAPID GROWTH IN PUBLIC BUSINESS CONTACTS WITH THE WEST.

8. ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILY ISSUE, WE NEED TO FIND A WAY TO DEAL WITH POLAND'S HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE DEFINITION OF "FAMILIES" (HUSBANDS AND WIVES, PARENTS AND MINOR CHILDREN, BUT NOT BROTHERS AND SISTERS, OR ADULT CHILDREN). WE BELIEVE THAT A SERIES OF CON-
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SULTATIONS, SUCH AS THOSE PROPOSED BY EMBASSY BUCHAREST (REF B) FOR THE ROMANIANS, WOULD ALSO BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE POLES AND WOULD PROVIDE A FORUM -- IN WASHINGTON -- FOR DISCUSSING THIS AND OTHER CSCE-RELATED ISSUES BEFORE THEY BECOME PART OF A CONFRONTATION AT BELGRADE. DURING SUCH CONSULTATIONS, WE SHOULD AGAIN MAKE CLEAR THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO STRESS TO THE POLES THAT THEIR POOR EMIGRATION RECORD IS ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE OTHERWISE EXCELLENT STATE OF OUR GENERAL RELATIONS. THEY SHOULD BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT AT SOME POINT SOON THEIR WEAK PERFORMANCE MAY COST THEM NOT ONLY OUR GOOD WILL, BUT ALSO SOME OF THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS WHICH THEY HAVE DERIVED FROM THE DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE SINCE 1973. AT THE SAME TIME, AS NOTED ABOVE, WE SHOULD GIVE THEM DEFINITE SIGNS OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO WORK TO OVERCOME LEGITIMATE PROBLEMS ON OUR SIDE IN THE AREAS OF VISA FACILITATION AND TRADE PROTECTIONISM.

9. ON THE PLUS SIDE, POLISH-AMERICAN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES CONTINUE TO DEVELOP SATISFACTORILY. THE POLES ARE GENERALLY COOPERATIVE IN EXPANDING THE LINKS BETWEEN THE SCHOLARS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH MANY UNEXPLORED OPPORTUNITIES STILL EXIST. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES TO BALANCE THE POLISH STRESS ON THE NATURAL SCIENCES AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS. IN THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, THE POLISH RECORD IS PROBABLY BETTER THAN THAT OF OTHER EE COUNTRIES. BUT POLISH MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE US IS STILL HEAVILY CENSORED AND SELECTIVE, AND THE AVAILABILITY OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS (SUCH AS TIME, NEWSWEEK, AND THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE) IS INADEQUATE TO MEET EVEN THE NEEDS OF FOREIGN TOURISTS. THEIR OWN STATISTICS SHOW THAT THE POLES EXPORTED TO THE UNITED STATES MANY MORE COPIES OF PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS (1.5 MILLION) IN 1975 THAN THEY IMPORTED (676,000). CONCERNING FILMS AND LITERATURE, THE POLES CORRECTLY EMPHASIZE AN IMBALANCE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THEIR ARGUMENT, HOWEVER, OVERLOOKS THE IMPORTANT FACT THAT THE ABUNDANCE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTS RESULTS NOT FROM OFFICIAL US INITIATIVES, BUT FROM COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE POLES HAVE MADE IN ORDER TO SATISFY POPULAR DEMAND. ANY INCREASE IN THE CIRCULATION OF POLISH FILMS AND BOOKS IN THE UNITED STATES SIMILARLY MUST RESPOND TO A COMMERCIAL MARKET DEVELOPED BY THE POLES THEMSELVES. MOREOVER, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO FILMS, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CONTENTION THAT THE WIDE AVAILABILITY OF AMERICAN TITLES CONTRIBUTES TO POSITIVE "UNDERSTANDING" IS BELIED BY THE MANY SENSATIONAL AND NEGATIVE FILMS WHICH THE POLES -- NOT WE -- HAVE SELECTED TO SHOW TO THEIR PUBLIC.

10. IN SUM, THE POLISH RECORD ON CSCE COMPLIANCE IS GOOD AS FAR AS IT GOES, BUT WE SEE MUCH ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE US STEP UP OUR SEARCH FOR THAT IMPROVEMENT WELL BEFORE WE GET TO BELGRADE.
BROWN

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